

was founded upon the notion that the government should not interfere with the religious practices of its citizens. Constitutional protection for the free exercise of religion is at the core of the American experiment in democracy.

There is a real possibility that as this bill is written, religious leaders or members of religious groups could be prosecuted criminally based on their speech or protected activities under conspiracy law or section 2 of title 18, which holds criminally liable anyone who aids, abets, counsels, commands, induces or procures its commission; or one who "willfully causes an act to be done" by another.

In the debate at the Judiciary Committee, much was made of the fact that an amendment was adopted by the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. DAVIS. However, that amendment did not go far enough in making it clear that the bill will not limit religious freedom. The sponsor of the amendment admitted that a pastor could still be targeted under the bill for incitement of violence for simply preaching his religious beliefs. For example if a pastor included a statement in his sermon that sexual relations outside of marriage is wrong, and a member of the congregation caused bodily injury to a person having such relations, that sermon could be used as evidence against the pastor.

Putting a chill on a pastor's words, a religious broadcaster's programming, an evangelical leader's message, or even the leader of a small-group Bible study is a blatant attack on the Constitutionally-guaranteed right to freedom of religion.

Last week when the Judiciary Committee took up this bill, I offered an amendment to make it clear that the bill will not affect the Constitutional right to religious freedom.

The Pence Amendment stated, "Nothing in this section limits the religious freedom of any person or group under the Constitution."

Unfortunately, the amendment was defeated by the majority in the Judiciary Committee. Yesterday, I submitted the Pence Religious Freedom Amendment to the Rules Committee for consideration, but that committee chose to adopt a closed rule for today's debate, effectively blocking my amendment and many other good amendments from consideration.

We must guard against the potential for abuse of hate crimes laws, and the Pence Amendment would have done so by stating once and for all that people and groups will not have their Constitutionally-guaranteed right to religious freedom taken away.

Mr. Speaker, this bill threatens religious freedom by criminalizing religious thoughts. On this National Day of Prayer, let's take a stand for the right of every American to believe, speak and pray in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. Take a stand for religious freedom and the First Amendment and vote no on the Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased now to yield to a distinguished Member on the Judiciary Committee, STEVE COHEN of Tennessee, for 1 minute.

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chairman, I am proud to stand in support of this bill. The fact is, these crimes, the victims of which have been Matthew Shepard, James Byrd, Emmett Till over the years have shocked the con-

science of this country, and that is why they need special treatment.

When you look at the laws and the type of activities that we are looking at, discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, or disabilities, you are looking at the same people that the Nazis tried to exterminate. If you were Jewish, if you were black, if you were disabled, if you were gay, the Nazis made a systematic attempt to eliminate you. And people who do that, even if they are not governments, should be punished, because that is the type of conduct that this world has seen and abhors and went to war for; and our U.S. attorneys should be given the ammunition to go to war against people that perpetrate those type of crimes.

And if you stand against this, what's going to happen? Certain villainous hooligans will maybe get less time. These are the people we need to lock up and put away, because this is a country about life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and everybody gets an opportunity.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT), a member of the Judiciary Committee, and also the ranking deputy member of the Crimes Subcommittee.

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, this bill starts off with a preamble that makes it faulty to begin with.

There are all kinds of recitations in the beginning, factual, so-called findings that were not supported and are not supported by any evidence. That is a major problem here.

First of all, people want to talk about how desperately this is needed to stop hate-based crimes. However, there are laws that protect every man, woman, and child from violent acts. In fact, I have heard my colleague across the aisle reference that the Matthew Shepard case shows how desperately we need hate crime legislation. Those perpetrators that did that horrible act both got life sentences under regular murder laws. This was not necessary.

People in committee threw up the Byrd case, a horrible tragedy where a man was dragged to his death simply because he was African American. Those two main perpetrators got the death penalty, and no hate crime that has been passed would address that.

Now, these statistics, if you really want to look at the facts before we pass bad legislation that is not justified by the facts, and I do take issue with the preamble's fact findings. There is no evidence to support them. But let's look.

Since 1995, the FBI statistics show that we have gone from 9,500 to 12,400 agencies reporting, more of the country is being covered, and yet a steady decline has gone from right at 8,000 to 7,100 incidents.

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Offenses have gone down near well a thousand, to 8,300. Victims have gone

down 1,600. Offenders have gone down 1,600. The laws are working. What this is trying to do is protect a class from any ill speech, anything that's derogatory.

Now, friends across the aisle say no, no, no. We put that in the bill. We've got an amendment that protects that. But if you go to the law in this bill, it says that, yeah, religious or protected speech would not be used at trial, unless it pertains or is relevant to the offense. And as anybody that's prosecuted someone as a principal, not a conspiracy, but a principal, a principal under Federal law, it says whoever aids, abets, counsels, commands, induces, procures a crime's commission is punishable as if he committed the crime.

And this is where this is going; ministers reading from the Bible, rabbis reading from the Torah, imams reading from the Koran who say sexual activity outside of marriage of a man and a woman is wrong, if they have somebody from their flock, some nut go out and commit a crime of violence and, by the way, this is not a restricted crime of violence. It could be violence against property. It can be a touching to be bodily injury. We've lowered the standard in this bill.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I'm pleased now to recognize the gentleman from Alabama, a distinguished member of the Judiciary Committee, ARTUR DAVIS for 1½ minutes.

Mr. DAVIS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, there's a pastor back home who has a card that he carries around with him and it says, made by God, return to the Creator upon expiration.

As a person of faith, if you believe that, as I do, you have to believe that that admonition and that promise applies not just to you and your kind, but to people who may be different, act different, think different, and look different. So this is the simplest way I can put this to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle.

If you are a person of faith, you have a Bible-based problem with hate. And if you have a Bible-based problem with hate, it's legitimate to say that hate ought to be punished a little bit more. That's all this legislation says.

Obviously, it must be done consistent with the first amendment, and that is why I offered an amendment that was accepted in committee and that my good friend, LAMAR SMITH from Texas, not only voted for, but praised during the markup. The amendment says specifically, nothing in this statute shall change the terms of the first amendment as they exist.

So this is as simple as I can put this to my good friend, Mr. GOHMERT. The only people who ought to fear this bill are people who would say to another human being, you ought to do violence against someone else. I don't know a man of God or woman of God who would take to any pulpit in the land, any synagogue or mosque in the land and say, do violence to another one of